

# PEACE NEWS

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THREEPENCE

## BRITISH RAILMEN VISIT RUSSIA

*Their fears are genuine*

— NUR President

**H.** W. FRANKLIN, the pacifist President of the National Union of Railwaymen has just returned from a visit to Russia with other members of the NUR. In articles to the Press he describes the Russians' genuine fears of an attack from the West, and emphasises the falsity of the myth that Russia is arming for aggression.

In the Railway Review he gives an account of the visit and records the celebrations in Moscow on Nov. 7, commemorating the 1917 Revolution:

"All the party except myself have gone to the march past in the Red Square, where the armed forces of the Soviet and Workers' Organisations parade past Marshal Stalin and the Service heads of the State.

"As a convinced pacifist I asked to be excused, for as I have never attended for over 35 years any ceremony where uniformed service men and instruments of war are associated, I felt that it would be contrary to my convictions to do in a foreign land what I would decline to do at home.

"Our hosts, were, I think, a little disappointed, but later they accepted my point of view, for I tried hard to explain how my presence could imply acceptance of military means to settle international disputes, and that I could never do, whether by implication or otherwise.

Mr. Franklin also describes his Russian visit in the current issue of Reynolds News.

"It can be clearly stated," he says, "that while the workers of Russia whom we interviewed have no real hostility towards England, their antagonism towards America is very marked.

"They are not allowed to forget how, following the 1914-18 war, the then victorious allies invaded Russia for no other reason than that the rulers of England, France and America disliked the new social order inspired by Lenin, and they fear that such could happen again.

"They stress the recent Truman pronouncement on the granting of American funds to aid those who wish to upset the Soviet regime from within, as justifying their apprehension."

When he declined, on principle, to attend the military demonstration, he adds, "they

## QUAKER DELEGATION AN INTELLIGENT LOT

— Soviet Minister

From a Correspondent

**"WHO** were that lot—they seem more intelligent than most people who come here!"

This, said Prof. Kathleen Lonsdale, speaking at Ealing Town Hall, last week, was the question asked by the Soviet Minister of Education after he had been interviewed by members of the Quaker Mission to Russia earlier this year.

After describing the many places the Mission had visited and the meetings and interviews they had attended, Prof. Lonsdale made it clear that the members had not gone on a mere sightseeing tour.

Their primary purpose was to discuss methods of peace-making and to show the Russians that there was goodwill and a desire for reconciliation among those who sincerely differed from them.

It was made clear to the Soviet leaders that the Mission did not support the Stockholm Peace Petition, or the demand for a five-power peace pact, and in answer to a question on this point Prof. Lonsdale said this demand was premature and might well preclude the possibility of real moves for peace. It was quite untrue to suggest that those who did not support the proposed pact were "aggressors," which was what the petition said.

### The Soviet peace campaign

Earlier, Prof. Lonsdale had said she was quite convinced the Russian leaders did not want a general war, though they might take full advantage of any small localised wars for their own ends, and to improve their own security.

Fear of the Western Powers was very real, and the Soviet was convinced that Anglo-American rearmament was for war.

The peace campaign was part of a policy designed to increase Russia's security by weakening the Western drive to rearmament, but there was no doubt the Russian people did want peace and that their sup-

were tolerant of my outlook, but always came back to the point that it is necessary for them to rearm because of past experience."

"I long for the day when women will say 'We are having nothing further to do with war' — Ernest Fernyhough, M.P.

## OUTSPOKEN OPPOSITION TO HOME GUARD

Peace News Reporter

**EMRYS HUGHES, MP,** has been well to the fore in the debates on the Home Guard Bill.

At the Second Reading on Nov. 22, he said:

"If we have such a strong Home Guard that the Russians decide not to come by air, it is likely to stimulate other ideas amongst the Russians, and then they are more likely to try to destroy key points in this country by atom bombs or rockets or something of that kind . . . And if we did have a sudden atom-bomb attack, in two or three days all this paraphernalia of the Home Guard would be irrelevant.

"So I say that we are not facing the realities of 1952 or 1954 in building up the machinery of the last war, and that, against that broad background of possibilities, the creation of a Home Guard is trifling.

"It is building up false hopes. It is not giving greater security to the people of this country, and I shall have much pleasure in supporting the Opposition Front Bench if it is decided to try to postpone the Bill indefinitely."

### Creating an unhealthy atmosphere

Another member who expressed opposition was Woodrow Wyatt (Lab. Birmingham, Aston).

"If we establish a Home Guard," he said, "we are bound to create an atmosphere of extreme urgency and make people feel that war is just round the corner. That is not a healthy atmosphere to try to sustain over a long period."

### Enlisting of women

On Nov. 27, when the Bill was discussed in Committee, Emrys Hughes spoke in opposition to Mr. Shinwell's amendment (proposing that women as well as men should be enlisted).

Ernest Fernyhough (Lab. Jarrow), who also opposed it, said:

"Women are the givers of life, and to some of us it seems that they should not be encouraged to take part in any organisation which is set up to destroy life. It might be said that women serve in the armed forces in Russia and in many continental countries, but I long for the day when the women not only in this country but in every country in the world will say 'We are having nothing further to do with war.'"

Mr. Shinwell's amendment was adopted. Later in the debate, which continued all

port of the peace petition was quite spontaneous.

Dealing with the question of general living conditions inside Russia, Kathleen Lonsdale said that the people appeared content and extremely community conscious.

She endorsed the view of Sir David Kelly, former British Ambassador in Moscow, that it was wishful thinking to believe that the Russian people were seething with discontent, but at the same time they were quite ignorant of Western living conditions.

Dickens' books were widely read, and Russians believed these presented a view of present British society. They had no knowledge whatsoever of the facilities provided by the modern democratic Welfare State.

The Mission had found there was complete freedom of worship for all religions, but no organised religious teaching of young people was allowed. On the other

(Continued on back page)

## Glasgow Magistrates object to free speech

PEACE THE FORBIDDEN SUBJECT

**A**T a meeting of the Glasgow magistrates on Nov. 24, an application by the Glasgow Group of the Peace Pledge Union to hold a meeting in the St. Andrew's (Berkley Hall) on Sunday, Dec. 16 was refused.

Speakers at this meeting were to have included Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, and Emrys Hughes, MP.

No reason has been given for the refusal though it is understood that one magistrate remarked "that in these times we do not want to encourage peace meetings." The Labour magistrates present protested against the decision but were outnumbered.

A letter of protest has been sent to the magistrates asking them to reconsider their decision and to meet a deputation among whom it is hoped will be Sir Hugh S. Robertson, a sponsor of the PPU.

"If the decision is not reversed, alternative arrangements will be made to hold a meeting but these will of necessity be on a smaller scale than originally intended," the Group Secretary, Campbell Wilkie of 12 Baldrie Road, Glasgow, W.3, told Peace News.

## MP welcomes Russians to home of Robert Burns

**L**AST Saturday afternoon a delegation of well-known Russians on a visit to this country visited the cottage at Alloway where Robert Burns was born, in order to pay their respects to the memory of Scotland's greatest democratic poet.

The deputation consisted of Professor Kernenov, a well-known Russian authority on the history of art, the Deputy Mayor of Stalingrad, Mme. Tatyana Murashkina, the soprano singer Mme. Nadezda Kazantseva, Mr. N. Walter, the pianist, and their interpreters. They were accompanied by Bailie W. S. Unkles, a member of the Glasgow Town Council and the Vice Chairman of the Scottish-USSR Friendship Society, and were received at the cottage by Emrys Hughes, MP for South Ayrshire, who is one of the trustees of the cottage.

### The People's Poet

In his speech of welcome, Emrys Hughes, MP, said that they were very glad indeed to see their Russian friends and to know that they had expressed a special desire to pay their tribute to the poet who was not only the poet of Scotland but, he would add, one who had expressed in his poetry the thoughts and emotions of the simple people of the countryside in a way that found a response in the hearts of farmers and peasant folk wherever they lived.

Burns was the poet of the common man. Whether they were Russians or British they lived under the same sky, had the same struggle to live, the same battle with elemental nature and the same hatred of war and the desire for peace.

He knew that the poems of Burns were widely read in Russia and the Burns Museum already contained the selection of Burns' poetry translated by the Russian Marshak.

He was very glad too, to welcome the Deputy Mayoress of Stalingrad, the town

(Continued on back page)

## Norwegian women's "No" to Home Guard

**N**ORWEGIAN women are doing their best to lead the men away from military paths.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom section has addressed an appeal to toymakers in Norway in which the post-war tendency to produce war-like toys is deplored; instead they are urged to make toys which will develop the constructive ability of children. And the women teacher's organisation has refused to co-operate in any way in the Home Guard activities.

**"What's the betting it ain't dignified?"**



An official order today prohibited the building of snowmen within the neutral zone at Panmunjom. Military police knocked down the first two snow sculptures of the season built by United Nations truce personnel. An officer explained: "It does not fit the dignity of the occasion."

—Manchester Guardian, Nov. 29, 1951.



## PEACE NEWS

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### CHRISTIAN DOST THOU SEE THEM?

**JOHN FOSTER DULLES**, State Department consultant, has been kind enough to make it clearer than ever why Russia and China regard NATO as an aggressive organisation.

In a speech reported in the New York Herald Tribune, he called upon the non-Communist world to unite in "a community punishing power" against Russian imperialism.

This is to consist of the creation of "a striking force of great power," stationed at "convenient places" around the Russian perimeter. It is to replace the present plan of providing defence forces within each of the nations "threatened" by Russia.

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This speech means that as far as Mr. Dulles is concerned negotiations are at an end.

It emphasises Mr. Truman's speech of Sept. 20, in which he said that the U.S. "are now placing reliance on force rather than on diplomacy."

The Russians, Mr. Dulles says in effect, are determined to attack the West if they get a chance. Nothing can deflect them from that purpose. All we can do now is hold them in. Further talk is useless.

But there are two ways of preventing that otherwise inevitable attack. Dulles also proposed a "political offensive," to combat "the misery, terrorism and hopelessness of the now captive peoples."

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Now the British people should be told whether this speech expresses the official view of the U.S. Government, and if so, whether the British Government agrees with it.

It is important to know this, for whereas Mr. Dulles says that Russia does want war, Mr. Attlee and Mr. Eden have stated that in their opinion Russia does not want war. Therefore, if Mr. Dulles' opinion is official, the Western Powers are disagreed on a point of fundamental importance, and Britain should reconsider its position as a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

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Meanwhile, to the Russians, that Preventive War must appear much nearer.

There can be little doubt now in the minds of the Russian and Chinese leaders that, in the opinion of at least one top-level American statesman, there is no such thing as "live and let live" between Western democracy and Communism; that America will not lay down its arms, or even stop piling them up, until the present regimes of Russia and China and the political and economic systems they are building up, have been destroyed.

And they are doubtless waiting, with an interest at least equal to ours, to know whether that view is official.

This "community punishing power," says Mr. Dulles, is an "alternative" to the Western limitation of arms proposal.

"The hopes and prayers of all of us," he says, "should go with that proposal." But it is clear that he does not expect those prayers to be answered, and we suspect that he is not praying very hard.

He prefers his holy crusade. The North Atlantic set-up has been elevated in the moral scale. It is no longer a mere defensive alliance but an instrument of punishment.

All the right is on one side, all the wrong on the other. Communism is the Beast: not the comparatively harmless Beast that can be transformed into a pukka gentleman by the chaste kiss of a democratic Beauty (preferably from Hollywood), but the Beast of Revelations, which cannot be tamed or transformed but only destroyed.

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Meantime, the Beast is to be kept in a cage. The policy of "containment" is to be developed, until the whole Communist world from Siberia to Canton is a vast Sing Sing, with guards at "convenient places" ready to drop atomic bombs at the first sign of the prisoner's attempts to get out.

Is the cage to be permanent? That doubtless depends largely on the success of the "political offensive" in disrupting Communism from within.

If that fails, we could not say what might happen. The Angelic Host may get impatient; or the Saints may show a tendency to fraternise with the Satanics. In which case St. Michael may consider the moment has arrived to give the order for Armageddon to begin.

So that, amongst other apocalyptic reforms, the 400,000,000 "terrorised and hopeless" Chinese may be re-established under the saintly rule of Chiang Kai-shek.

### The Japanese Treaty

**THE** passage through the House of Commons of legislation endorsing the Japanese Treaty of "Peace"—the inverted commas are very necessary here—is a sorry business.

The Labour Party was of course committed to it, and the speech of Herbert Morrison at San Francisco when it was signed on our behalf had to be a pitifully empty performance in which every issue of importance was evaded and our complete dependence in this matter on the wishes of the U.S. Government was underlined.

In the debates on a Bill for carrying the Treaty into effect, Mr. Kenneth Younger undertook the task of giving it official Labour support.

One of his comments emphasises the hollowness of the pretence that the Treaty is an instrument of peace rather than an act of war. Speaking of the troubled area of the Far East he said "There are at least three major powers actually there—the Soviet Union, China and Japan." But through the action of the USA the two major powers which, beside Japan, were most concerned were excluded from participation in the Treaty. This was because its presentation to Japan was being used as a coercive instrument to compel the defeated people's acceptance of American bomber bases on Japanese soil.

Emrys Hughes made a valiant attempt to raise fundamental issues on the Committee stage and Third Reading of the Bill, but the general reaction of the Parliamentary Labour Party was tragically disappointing.

It does not require that one should be a pacifist to be able to perceive that this Treaty, imposed despite the opposition of Japanese Socialists, is an affront to any decent principles of internationalism; and an Amendment dealing with the danger of Japanese industrial competition was no substitute for an honest examination of the Treaty from the standpoint of Socialist principle.

### Germany at the cross-roads

**A**NOTHER CAT is out of the bag.

With all that has been said about rearming Western Germany, it was only at the recent meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation in Rome that not only was it stated that "if all goes according to plan, the Federal German Republic is expected to have twelve divisions by 1954," but also, according to M. Schuman, that "the German personnel would be recruited by conscription."

Peace News has always protested vehemently against the acceptance by Britain of the American plan to rearm Western Germany, and it may be well to quote the relevant clauses of the proceedings of the Crimea Conference (commonly known as the Yalta Agreement), February, 1945, and of the Berlin Conference (commonly called the Potsdam Agreement), August, 1945.

At the former it was agreed that Article 12 (a) of the Surrender Terms for Germany should be amended to read as follows:

The United Kingdom, the USA and the USSR shall possess supreme authority with respect to Germany. In the exercise of such authority they will take such steps, including the complete disarmament, demilitarisation and dismemberment of Germany, as they deem requisite for future peace and security.

Under the latter the purposes of the occupation of Germany are to be guided by—"the complete disarmament and demilitarisation of Germany and the elimination or control of all German industry that could be used for military production. To these ends—

(a) all German land, naval and air forces... with all their organisations, staffs and institutions, including the General Staff, the Officers Corps, Reserve Corps... and all other military and semi-military organisations... shall be completely and finally abolished in such manner as permanently to prevent the revival or reorganisation of German militarism, and (b)... the maintenance and production of all aircraft and all arms, ammunition and implements of war shall be prevented."

### The German conscience clause

When similar decisions were reached in regard to Japan, they were incorporated in the Constitution of the new Japan, which specifically deprived any Japanese Government of the right to make war. Although no similar clause appears in the Basic Laws adopted by the Bonn Government, Article 4, paragraph 3, reads:

"No one can be forced to accept combatant military service against his conscience."

Once more events prove how one wrong decision inevitably leads to another. The violation of the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements is now threatening the violation of the Basic Law for Western Germany. The implementation of Article 4 was left for the drafting of a Federal Law, which would make more explicit the right of COs. Unfortunately that law has not been drafted, and there is a general uneasiness in Germany lest under the pressure of German rearmament the article may well become of no effect.

The Peace Pledge Union has more than once urged the British Government that if they were determined to persist in rearming Germany, they must secure to German COs protection at least as adequate as that afforded to COs in this country, and it is important at this juncture that public opinion here and in Germany should insist that Article 4 shall be fully implemented and not disregarded.

# BEHIND THE NEWS

But more is at stake than the safeguarding of the rights of German COs. Germany stands at the crossroads, and America has mapped out her path.

### America decides, Russia ignored

In the game of manoeuvring for positions of political and military advantage, Germany is to be integrated into the Western system of defence to form part of the encirclement of Russia. Yet, if Western Germany remains a key factor in a divided world, the possibility of a united Germany is destroyed, since Western Germany once armed can have no basis of agreement with Eastern Germany.

The choice is between the rearmament of Western Germany and unity for Germany. For there is a choice. The latest offer from Eastern Germany provides a real basis for negotiation, the genuineness of which is indicated by the fact that the Eastern German Government has accepted the 14 conditions laid down by the Bonn Government and has withdrawn conditions which might create difficulties.

No practical proposals for German unity have ever come from Britain and America. If the future of Germany is to be settled by negotiation, what better proposals do the West expect from the East? Apparently, determined that Germany shall follow the road mapped out instead of being able to fulfil her own destiny, Britain and America force armaments upon Germany at the cost of conscription, and at the same time do their best to impair the possibility of negotiation by using the United Nations machinery to set up a commission to examine the possibility of a free election, in spite of the fact that, acting under the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements, Russia has already offered a three-power commission for that purpose.

### The "Democrats" ignore the people

Conscription for Germany is a recognition of the fact that if the issue was left to the free choice of the German people, there is no doubt what it would be. No German can acquiesce in the division of his country. The increasing resistance to rearmament has shown that the peoples of Western Germany prefer German unity to a Western German army.

But the exponents of democracy are not prepared to let the German people decide for themselves. They will risk neither a plebiscite, nor the failure of their plans for German rearmament by leaving the German people free to join the new army if they want to.

By such action Britain and America are running the grave risk of turning Germany into a battlefield to be trampled under the feet of opposing armies, instead of helping to make Germany a bridge across which the nations might pass to a new world of freedom, prosperity and peace.

### The moral leadership of the world

**T**HAT the moral leadership of the world is passing into the hands of the nations standing outside the two great Power blocs becomes increasingly evident.

The Government of India has already played a large part in the building of a neutral third force, notably in its policy towards the Peoples' Republic of China.

Recently Mr. Nehru, to whom much credit is due for the quality of his own personal leadership, has re-defined India's policy.

"We do not want any war in this world," said Mr. Nehru, and he went on to claim that the only way of maintaining India's independence and of playing, concurrently, an important part in the Councils of the world, was by steering an independent way clear of power politics:

"A number of nations look to us for guidance at times. They do not do so because of our military strength or financial potency. I will tell you there is nothing else they respect in us more than our integrity and honest approach to various world problems."

### Press ignored two Indian peace moves

As if to give practical evidence of this policy, Sir Benegal Rau, the chief delegate of India to the United Nations, made two proposals last week in the Political Committee of the UN, proposals which have been largely ignored in the British Press.

Following up the statement by many speakers that the first essential for peace is to stop the fighting in Korea, Sir Benegal proposed that a study group should be set up to recommend to the Political Committee how best to bring about a cessation of hostilities. His suggestion is that this study group should preferably be composed of individuals selected on a personal and not on a governmental basis.

This is an interesting suggestion worthy of more detailed consideration and full of possibilities. Sir Benegal himself or, still better, his Prime Minister, would seem to have the necessary qualifications to serve on this Committee and there are other independent world figures whose service could be called upon.

Later on in the same speech Sir Benegal made his second main proposal when moving a resolution in the name of his country calling for the creation of a United Nations

Fund for Reconstruction and Development and asking that each member of the United Nations should prepare before March 31, 1952, "a scheme setting forth the principles and the scale on which it would be prepared:

(a) progressively to reduce its armaments, and

(b) to contribute to the above mentioned fund."

### More than lip-service

A similar resolution was moved by India at the meeting of the United Nations Assembly 12 months ago, though for tactical reasons it was later withdrawn.

All the Great Powers have given lip-service to the idea of reducing armaments and devoting at least a portion of the money saved to the needs of the under-developed areas, and we can be grateful to India for once again drawing attention to the constructive claims of peace-making over against those negative ones of war preparation.

Coming in the same week as the proposal of Pakistan, Iraq and Syria, that the representatives of the four great Powers should meet in private to consider the two disarmament proposals at present before the United Nations, there is good reason to claim that the real leadership of the world has passed to unexpected quarters.

### Disarmament talks begin

**A**T LAST disarmament talks are to begin.

This is the result of an initiative of the smaller nations expressed in a UN resolution tabled by Iraq, Syria and Pakistan.

The first meeting of representatives of the USA, Russia, Britain and France took place on Dec. 1. Technically they met as a sub-committee of the Assembly's political committee and Dr. Nervo, President of the Assembly, was in the Chair. It is expected that the meetings will be held in two sessions daily. Progress is to be reported to the Political Committee on Dec. 10.

The Press will not be present at the discussions, but each delegation is to issue its own press statements.

Having made their views felt on this subject it is to be hoped that the representatives of the smaller nations will continue to express themselves with regard to the conduct of the talks.

Skirmishing is already being threatened on whether these are purely "terms of reference" talks and to what extent the substance of the issues of disarmament are appropriate to be discussed.

### Ration diplomatic astuteness

It was in this way that the Paris discussions during the Summer round the framing of an agenda for Peace talks were interminably spun out and ultimately brought to nought.

This must not be permitted to happen again. Those earlier Paris talks broke down because both sides brought a minimum of good will and a maximum concern that they should not be out-manoeuvred.

We should like to see diplomatic astuteness strictly rationed during these new talks with free play being given to all the goodwill that the delegates can muster.

A useful accompaniment to the talks would be a top-level U.S.A. indication that there is to be a halt in the propounding of plans such as that made by Mr. Dulles and discussed in our leading article.

### The cease-fire mystery

**O**N November 28 all ground fighting stopped in Korea, news agencies reporting that instructions had been given for firing to cease unless the North Koreans opened up first.

There were stories of North Koreans playing football out in "No Man's Land" and American troops constructing snowmen and incurring official rebuke on the ground that they were failing in a sense of dignity.

### Christmas 1914 again?

What had happened about these "cease fire" orders?

Alistair Cooke in Saturday's Manchester Guardian examined the various discrepant reports.

According to him a United Press dispatch from Lt.-General Van Fleet's Eighth Army Headquarters reported UN troops ordered to halt all offensive action. In less than an hour denials began to arrive, United Nations HQ knew nothing about it and referred Press enquirers to the White House and the Pentagon, which houses the U.S. War Department.

The President's press secretary called a press conference to say that the statement was not true and that there could be "no cease-fire in Korea until an armistice is signed."

A Pentagon spokesman announced that they had cabled General Ridgway for "clarification."

In Tokio, General Ridgway's public information officer said that no such order had been issued at "any responsible level." Reference to General Van Fleet's Headquarters, the alleged source of the reported order, brought the information that no cease-fire order had been given "either by the Eighth Army or anybody else."

Can the explanation of it all be that the decision came from the least responsible level of all; that, just as happened at Christmas 1914, the soldiers, whose lives were likely to be thrown away, the mere cannon-fodder, had settled the thing themselves, and that the commanders in the field were trying to put a good face on an accomplished fact?



## Swiss demand for unarmed neutrality

THE President of the Swiss Centre of Action for Peace, Pastor Kobe, makes a plea in the Zurich paper, Neue Zeit, for the substitution of a new policy of unarmed neutrality for the present armed neutrality.

He urges that even if armed neutrality could assure the independence of Switzerland—and given the character of modern arms this idea is clearly chimerical; Swiss neutrality must inevitably depend on the will of the great powers—this can only be a self-regarding policy and can contribute nothing to the preservation of world peace.

If a neutral Switzerland, however, presented itself unarmed and openly declared its readiness to depend on the conventions of international law and the UN Charter it would be accomplishing a distinctive act in the encouragement of general peace.

M. Kobe urges that if Switzerland were to take this step it would not remain alone, the other smaller nations of Europe would be drawn to follow its example and would thus constitute themselves an unarmed neutral zone between the hostile blocs.

Economic consequences would follow and M. Kobe advocates that Switzerland should devote a quarter of its budget to bring succour to the peoples of the underdeveloped nations whose misery constitutes a permanent danger to peace.

## EMERGENCY LEAGUE FOR PEACE IN EUROPE

From a Correspondent

THE Cologne daily newspaper "Stadt-Anzeiger" publishes without comment a report from Bonn about the formation on Nov. 22 of the "Emergency League for Peace in Europe" by Frau Wessel, leader of the Centre Party in the Federal German Parliament, and Dr. Heinemann. The latter, it may be remembered, resigned his post as Minister of the Interior of the Federal German Republic in October, 1950, because he could not agree to German participation in European defence.

According to the report, the "Emergency League" is designed to unite those currents in German public opinion which are dissatisfied with "democracy" as practised by the present Federal Government, are opposed to German rearmament, at any rate at this juncture, and are prepared to fight for a *de facto* recognition of the provisions for conscientious objection to military service laid down in the Basic Law.

With regard to foreign policy, the League's foremost aim is the reunification of Germany. The League has dissociated itself from the Communist as well as from extreme Right Wing parties.

In a press conference following the inauguration of the League, Dr. Heinemann said that in the attempt to reunite Germany it was necessary to avoid every step which would inevitably provoke Russian opposition.

Frau Wessel stated that the "dangerous developments in the Federal Republic" were mainly due to the following factors: the unwarrantably strong position of the Federal Chancellor; the fact that decisions in Parliament were invariably taken according to "party lines" instead of personal convictions; a marked lack of consideration for public opinion; and the fact that the Basic Law contained no provisions for the holding of a referendum in regard to important issues.

### Password for Peace

"The Password for Peace is Reconciliation" is the slogan carried by the latest Northern Friends' Peace Board poster, price 45d. post free from them at Clifford Street, York. It is attractively printed in red and black.

## THE STERLING BALANCE

RECENTLY a young American wrote cancelling his subscription because of our "anti-Americanism."

A few weeks later another American reader sent us \$12 as compensation for his fellow-countryman's defection.

"This country," he wrote, "needs to have her paranoia pointed out, as does England."

Later still the first American wrote again renewing his subscription, saying his cancellation had been a gesture to domestic peace, but now he had left home he felt free to register his support.

We regret to have brought not peace but a sword between parent and son; nevertheless we think this drama of Anglo-American relations ended happily.

First, it called attention to PN's unique international function as a Pointer-Out of Paranoia (POP for short)—or, in more native language, a dispeller of delusions. That surely merits its support by the saner sections of all nations.

Secondly, it has restored the Sterling Balance, and enabled the Pound once again to look the Dollar proudly in the face.

B. J. BOOTHROYD

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"Communism and democracy must both learn respect for all human life and give back to individuals and nations alike their right to free life. On that basis East and West could solve all world problems without resort to war and violence," says Premysl Pitter.

## WHY I LEFT CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Premysl Pitter was the Czech member of the Council of the War Resisters' International from its beginning in 1925 till 1939 when Hitler's occupation of Czechoslovakia made all organised peace work impossible there. He then concentrated on educational and social work in the day-home for children, Milicuv Dum, which, with the help of his many friends had been built in a Prague slum. In spite of many tribulations they managed to steer through the dangers of Nazi oppression.

When the war stopped they immediately developed a wide action of relief for children and adolescents from Nazi concentration camps and later for the newly interned Germans. In the midst of a general wave of revenge these Czechs saved the starving and lost children of their "enemies," a constructive expansion of that deep brotherhood which is the foundation of real war-resistance.

This ad hoc relief work was completed in 1948 when the Communists took over power in Czechoslovakia and Premysl Pitter had again to limit his activities to working with children in Milicuv Dum.

In the following article he gives an account of his experiences and describes conditions in Czechoslovakia.

I DID not want to flee. I did not want to leave the children I cared for, the friends who needed me. To leave them seemed to me as betraying them and my people.

Though I was finding it increasingly difficult to fulfil the directions and prescriptions of the authorities without inner contradictions, I endeavoured to work with my Communist superiors in things that seemed good or at least not harmful.

In October, 1950, "Milicuv Dum" was taken away from our group and put under municipal administration, but our group had to go on financing its running, so that my friends and I were allowed to remain there in our educative functions.

### The school inspector

Once my school-inspector asked me why I was not a Communist. I gave two reasons:

First I do not accept the materialistic philosophy, and secondly I cannot agree with the violent methods that the Party uses to further its aims. Several of these aims—I said—are sympathetic to me, but inhuman methods deracinate them.

The inspector answered: "We are struggling against reaction and the class-enemies. When we have done away with these, the things that irritate you will disappear. I understand that your idealistic philosophy hinders you from being one of us. That however need not prevent you from working with us. I prefer an able and honest non-Communist to an incompetent or dishonest party-man."

The inspector herself appointed me as Chairman of the pedagogical staff of the district. However it soon became evident that differences in principles and spirit cannot be bridged over even by the best practical work, for practise is merely the application of principles and spirit.

### Parents' meeting

One day I was ordered to speak to a meeting of parents about the institutions for children and youth that are being widely established all over the country in order to make it possible for mothers to go to work in factories, public services and agriculture.

Women are enticed in many different ways and compelled by circumstances to entrust their children to institutions and enter into the production-machinery.

A social worker has the best opportunity to observe the evil effects of it on family life and general morality. The number of disrupted families is steadily increasing and the children suffer in their souls.

So to conclude my exposé to the assembled parents I quoted the popular Russian Communist pedagogue Makarenko, who wrote that "ordered family life is the basis of socialist society," and I added that therefore the very best institutions cannot be regarded as the ideal, which is the family where the mother can devote herself to her children.

The general and long applause of the audience was like a spontaneous open protest against the tendency of the Party in this matter. I realised at once that this address had been my "swan song."

The local committee of the Communist Party asked for my immediate dismissal, because I "incite against the order of the People's Democracy, and only individuals who are absolutely reliable politically and ideologically are acceptable as educators."

### Police intervention

The magistrate however did not find it easy to comply with this request because of the general sympathies we enjoyed among the population.

Several denunciations—a very common thing under the present regime—were a welcome help to the police.

At the beginning of April, 1951, they suddenly turned up to search first my room and then the whole Home.

Among the things seized were my list of international addresses, manuscripts, as well as copies of duplicated circular letters that were sent out from time to time to our friends to give them news of our Home and strengthen their morale. Our dupli-

cator and stock of paper were taken away as well as chests with material left here by the Swiss group of the International Voluntary Service for Peace which had done reconstruction-work in a war-damaged frontier-village of Czechoslovakia in 1946.

I was accused of publishing news letters without permission and inciting against the existing regime. The Swiss IVSP was called a "band of spies" by the help of which I had kept contact with the enemies of our State. This last accusation was however dropped.

I was immediately moved out of "Milicuv Dum" and forbidden to enter it any more. A new principal, acceptable to the Communists, was set in my place with an entirely new staff of educators. The majority of our elder children ceased going to the Home.

In August, 1951, I was summoned for interrogation by the State-prosecutor. I knew that meant being arrested and sent to forced labour. If I had enjoyed good health, I should probably have been prepared to face this, believing that in prison or doing forced labour I could be a moral support to my fellow-prisoners as others I know are doing. As matters were however, I decided to escape and hope that outside my country I shall be able the better to work for peace and spiritual freedom.

### Communist achievements

Has the Communist regime brought positive achievements?

I am convinced it has. The rule of bankers and financiers has been completely abolished; unearned incomes have been done away with; work that served only private money-making (such as commission business, offering and advertising goods and service, etc.) has disappeared; a simplified school system has been built up; general social, old age and health insurance is applied; all health services have been democratised.

There are several things that the majority of the people, though anti-communist, would wish to retain. But the ideology that takes no heed of individuality makes life inhuman and unbearable.

In Czechoslovakia nationalisation has been accomplished more quickly and radically than in other satellite States; private trade has nearly disappeared and before long private cultivation of land will also have become quite impossible. So the good and bad sides of the Communist regime have already become more evident in this country than elsewhere. Institutions that are good in principle, have grown into huge constructions and machineries lacking true human content.

What is the use of a model organisation of schooling when education and training are completely subordinated to the ideology and politics of a party?

What is the use of saving time and labour through collective agriculture when the peasant, compelled to join collective farming, loses the inner contact with the work, so that both he and productivity suffer?

### Pacifists and Partisans of Peace

Can a pacifist behind the "iron curtain" take part in the Communist "fight for peace"?

The pacifist's co-operation in the Communist peace-movement would be welcomed there as long as he would criticise only the militarism of the Western powers. As soon, however, as he would object also to the arming of Communist States he would be declared an enemy of the Soviets and the order of the People's Democracy, with all the consequences.

Pacifists living in Eastern Europe can work only from man to man. They avoid being drawn into peace actions—only official ones are possible—because they do not believe in them and do not want to help in creating a smoke-screen for red militarism.

There is no doubt that the common people sincerely want peace, but their peace-longing is misused for a policy of hatred against the Western powers that are stamped as the only war-mongers.

### Capitalism or Communism?

Is Capitalism no better?

Some western pacifists are inclined to put the Communist regime on a level with

## CHRISTMAS CARDS FOR COs IN PRISON

CONSCIENTIOUS objectors in British and American prisons are allowed to receive Christmas cards from anyone, whether or not the persons are on an approved list of correspondents or even acquainted with the COs.

There is no limitation to the number of cards which may be received. The cards should be signed but should not include a personal message.

The CO will not be allowed to acknowledge receipt of the cards but men in prison appreciate receiving Christmas greetings even though they are not personally acquainted with the sender.

Cards must go to the men as individuals, not to groups known to be in any one prison.

In next week's Christmas Number, Peace News will publish as many names of men in prison throughout the world as are ascertainable at the time of going to press.

the Capitalist regime that is prevailing in their own country.

When reminded of the wrongs of Communism they point to the wrongs of their own government. When told of the advantages of democracy they point out the achievements of Communism. They believe that by doing so they help towards a better mutual understanding. There is, however, no real understanding without a knowledge of the full truth.

It is not my intention to dispute on which side imperialistic tendencies are stronger, but it is a fact that here in the West citizens can, to a certain extent, freely express their opinions and thereby exert an influence on public opinion and governments. This possibility does not exist at all in Czechoslovakia. The lack of spiritual freedom is so terrible there that people suffer from it more than from the lack of material goods.

### The needs of the people

It is almost impossible for "Westerners" to have any idea of the anguish of soul that prevails among people living in the Eastern States. They are exhausted by excessive work, compulsory "re-education" and meetings, uncertainty of personal life, fear of denunciation. They are sick of continual propaganda that obtrudes at every step and opportunity. You do not see happy faces and real joy. The souls are starving.

On the day before my flight I happened to pass a church and felt the need for a quiet moment in a quiet corner. I thought there would be only a few old people in the church as was the usual custom. I entered and stood in surprise: the church was full of people many of whom were kneeling on the stone floor, lost in fervent prayers. There were many educated people of middle-age among them. I was deeply touched. I realised at that moment what people in Czechoslovakia miss most. It is nourishing spiritual bread instead of which they only get dogmas and "cultural" stones.

But it is not political or religious dogmas they want, it is something more, it is that fundamentally human element, which unites us regardless of differences in ideological and religious convictions.

### The way forward

Democracy and Communism must be given a new basis.

Democracy and Communism need not stand against each other, if democracy were really democratic and Communism really communistic. Democracy is threatened by Communism, not because Communism is undemocratic and godless, but because in the democratic countries themselves there is much that is undemocratic and godless.

Democracy would triumph over Communism without war, if it succeeded in solving social problems better than Communism. Communism is a product of tyrannising over and discontent of oppressed classes and peoples. Their impatience bred the inconsiderate radicalism of Communists. This shows us the roots of the evil that has to be tackled. Similarly the great discontent and despair of the many that are oppressed by the Communist regime is a greater danger to it than all the guns of the West.

Communism and democracy must both learn respect of all human life; they must also learn the priority of spiritual values over material ones and give back to individuals and nations alike their right to free life. On that basis East and West could be drawn together and solve all world problems without resort to war and violent revolution.

As I see it, world tension is likely to increase still more. I firmly believe, however, that the spiritual forces that are growing under oppression will become so strong that they will pierce through the "iron curtain."

### Glasgow students' venture

The first issue of "Spark," a cyclostyled monthly magazine published by the Glasgow University Pacifist Association and the World Youth Peace Fellowship, appeared on Nov. 10 (price 1s.). It contains articles on World Government, disarmament and Christian pacifism.



**What is the basis of the Atlantic Council that held its meetings in Rome last week? The first of a series of articles by JEAN SMIT gives a plain account of**

## The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

and the groupings that preceded it

**H**ISTORY in all probability will recognise that the Soviet Union's refusal to participate in the Marshall Plan for the rehabilitation of Europe finally crystallised the rift between East and West.

No doubt dialectical materialism will find ample justification for Russia's attitude in subsequent events but the Plan, at least in theory, was originally offered without political "strings" and Russia might have scored an important diplomatic and moral victory in pointing out later that the spirit of the Plan had been betrayed not by her but by the USA.

Moreover, the Western European Powers were seized with fear about the spread of Communism at home, particularly in France and Italy, and the power of the Soviet Union abroad, while the coup d'état in March, 1948, in Czechoslovakia presented itself as an ominous warning.

Also (at least on the Continent), they showed little faith in the positive side of their own doctrines and social achievements and, in their economic and financial weakness, appeared unable to lift their vision beyond the immediate and facile advantage of dollar aids and the long-term military support which an alliance with the USA would secure.

Finally, there was the attraction of committing the USA for the first time in history to a military alliance before war had broken out.

### The Brussels Treaty

In Europe the British Government had cold-shouldered Western European Union but the Brussels Treaty between Great Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg as a "50-year Pact of economic and social collaboration, collective military aid and collective security against aggression" was an entirely different matter, as its main purpose was to prepare the ground for a treaty between the North Atlantic Powers, including the USA.

Thus, the Brussels Treaty was well welcomed in that sense by Mr. Truman as "an association of good neighbours which the USA would support in the course of time."

America had meanwhile concluded the Rio (de Janeiro) Treaty with Cuba, Mexico, the Central and South American countries, also including the Caribbean area, which had come into force in December, 1948.

On the European side where, owing to Britain's attitude, no progress had been made with Western Union, opinion in the European Assembly suddenly coalesced and expressed in October, 1948, "full approval of the principles of a North Atlantic defensive pact," deciding to embark before the end of that year on discussions with the USA and Canada on such a pact.

### N.A. Treaty commitments

Consequently, no later than March 18, 1949, a Pact of Collective Defence of the North Atlantic area was signed between Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Luxembourg, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the UK, and USA (Greece and Turkey to be added two years later).

The Preamble and 14 Clauses of the Treaty reaffirm the faith of the 12 participants (representing a population of 332 million inhabitants) in the purposes and principles of the UN Charter and express foremost the desire to live in peace; they also declare their aim to promote self-help and mutual aid against armed attack, to further stability and well-being and undertake to settle any international disputes in such a manner that peace, security and justice will not be endangered and to refrain from the threat or use of force.

An armed attack against one member is to be considered as made against all and will, without impairing the right of self-defence, entail action forthwith, including the use of armed force, by each member individually and in concert with the others.

The Treaty furthermore defines the areas covered by it, which comprise French Algeria, occupation forces in Europe, British possessions, vessels, aircraft and islands in the North Atlantic, generally speaking all that which lies north of the Tropic of Cancer (roughly, a line on the globe extending through Mexico, across the Atlantic, the Sahara, Arabia, Persia, Pakistan, India and China to a point just north of Formosa).

Finally, it may be observed that the clauses of the Pact may be revised after 10 years and that after 20 years a country can cease membership on one year's notice.

### Military measures

Turning now to the steps taken to make the Treaty effective it will be seen that a

vast and far-reaching network of organisation and co-ordination has been created to deal with joint defence and military matters, arms production and supply, military standardisation between Canada, UK and USA, ocean shipping, regional planning, financial and economic problems, co-operation with the OEEC (Organisation for European Economic Co-operation) and so forth.

Following this U.S. Forces were stationed in most of the participating countries. American air bases in Great Britain (including an atom bomb squadron), the occupation of French Atlantic and Mediterranean ports as well as numerous French airfields are perhaps the best-known examples in our part of the world but these are only a fraction of the hundreds of American bases thickly spread all over the globe (see the recent Peace Treaty with Japan). In conjunction with the creation of these bases, the defence of Europe has been placed under American command.

### Negotiation abandoned

To sum up: the reconstruction of Europe was already seriously delayed and handicapped by her historically out-dated territorial divisions, which deprive her of any large nearby markets and prevent large-scale production plans. At present America's methods of stockpiling coupled with the huge NAT rearmament programmes definitely rule out any further economic and social progress and the beneficial effect of the enormous sums pumped by the USA into the European economy is now cancelled by the crushing burden of military expenditure.

Militarily we have seen that Europe is under U.S. Command (the USA has also the knowledge and control over atom bomb production) but there is no guarantee that there will not be an American "Dunkirk" in case of a Russian invasion of Western Europe. American occupation forces in Europe also impose on the Soviet Union, in the event of war, the destruction of Western Europe as a prior military necessity. Meanwhile, Congress, even under the NAT, retains the right to declare or not to declare war and has moreover the economic whip-hand over European production and financial stability by insisting on increased armaments and granting or withholding large amounts of dollar aids for "off shore purchases," i.e., the purchase of materials or products for NAT armaments outside the USA.

Finally, Europe is politically committed to the American foreign policy of peace through strength, in other words, the pursuit of peace by negotiation, mutual concessions and voluntary agreement has been abandoned.

In the first part of this article, published last week, the author, Derek Stanford, wrote that it is only in recent years that religious drama has begun to interpret the teaching of the Bible in terms which bring home its message to the man in the street today.

## Religious Drama: The way things are shaping

**CHRISTOPHER FRY'S** *A Sleep of Prisoners* is probably the most whole-hearted specimen of this "free" religious drama we have witnessed this season. With its modern situation (the predicament of four prisoners-of-war locked-up in an "enemy" church in war time); the absence from its dramatis personae of the figure of a priest or some direct exponent of the Church's teaching to act as a kind of "official" instructor (a device which most of these plays employ); with its original theology (the Fall of Man, according to the play, is to be dated from Cain's murder of Abel rather than from the eating of the apple); and its final message of spiritual evolution, of a kind of desperate chiliasm.

"Thank God our time is now when wrong Comes up to face us everywhere, Never to leave us till we take The largest stride of soul man ever took Affairs are now soul size The enterprise Is exploration into God."

With all these qualities *A Sleep of Prisoners* establishes a right to independent vision. But against this almost heterodox aspect, one must place its use of Biblical themes in the dreams which visit the four prisoners and in which they discover their real natures by finding themselves identified with characters out of the Old Testament.

Charles Williams' play *The House of the Octopus* posits a situation as modern as Fry's: namely the invasion of a Christian country by a totalitarian pagan power. But here the mystifying destiny of man—which Fry would have his characters face alone—

## "DEAREST DAVID" AND INDIA

Ethel Mannin

this week concludes her article on the chapter dealing with India in the Duke of Windsor's memoirs. Last week she described how Gandhi called for a "hartal" on the day when the Duke, then Prince of Wales, arrived in Bombay for a tour of the country in 1921: people were urged to stay indoors and drape their houses with black bunting as evidence of their desire to be free of British rule.

**T**HERE were All-India Congress Party hartals proclaimed in most of the cities of British India in the Prince's itinerary, but they "failed to interrupt" the efficiently organised rhythm of his programmes.

"Yet for all that," he adds, "Gandhi's ominous shadow fell often across my path; and especially in the native sections of the swarming cities the struggle for the loyalties of the masses seemed to me to be a bidding match between the Government of India on the one hand and Gandhi on the other."

He then, with his astonishing naïveté adds, "The Indians love a 'tamasha.' Whatever their feelings on the injustices of British rule they found it hard to resist the great public shows being organised in my honour."

He then goes on to make the remarkable assertion that Gandhi and his followers intimidated and bribed the masses in an attempt to scatter the crowds who might be hailed as loyal to the British Raj.

"The Party men spread the rumour that the police had been ordered to shoot any native who approached the route of my procession. It was even said that the Government would poison the food at the feeding of the poor. The dispensing of this bounty was customary on the occasion of a visit by the Viceroy or some other exalted person."

The italics are mine. It never occurred to HRH that to a nation where the great mass of people live on the border-line of starvation free food is a powerful inducement to turn out to greet royalty.

But then of course HRH, never walking the Indian streets and bazaars, never setting foot in an Indian village let alone entering an Indian grass hut, would know nothing about that border-line of starvation.

Yet in so many words he acknowledges the fact that the Government "offered certain material inducements" to the crowds to demonstrate their loyalty, and quotes as example trucks circulating through the streets of Lucknow with signs printed in Urdu inviting people to "Come and See the Prince and Have a Free Ride"—a "form of enticement," he says, "that never had to be employed when my father travelled in India."

At Allahabad and Benares the hartal was so effective that he drove through empty streets.

He admits that on the eve of his visit the British authorities, "hoping to disorganise the boycott . . . clapped Pandit Nehru and his principal associates in jail," producing thereby, as he ruefully observes, "a quite opposite effect."

He was heartened, however, by the great crowds which turned out at Allahabad to watch him play polo—"one might have thought it was Pandit Nehru and not the Prince of Wales who was on the pony," he ironically remarks.

But taken all in all he was depressed by his reception in India and wrote to "dearest Papa" to tell him so. He felt that he was "not doing a scrap of good," and complained of the restricting precautions taken on his behalf—he was "hardly ever allowed even to drive through the bazaar and native quarters of the cities, and the crowds if there are any lining the routes through the European

quarters are herded together into pens like sheep and guarded by the constables who face 'outboard' (with their backs to me) to watch them."

Papa, however, though surprised and disappointed by the way in which "the natives" had boycotted his "dearest David," having been "intimidated by Gandhi," assured him that "your visit is really giving great pleasure to the natives though they are not allowed to show it"; adding that "anyhow the Anglo-Indians have given you a splendid reception everywhere and so have the Native States."

Surely the naïveté of royalty is as illimitable as it is inimitable!

That India "remained a mystery" to HRH is hardly to be wondered at since it was in his own words only "fleetingly perceived through an interposed layer of British officialdom and princely autocracy."

As his tour progressed Gandhi's "attacks upon British rule increased in violence," which was all the more disheartening for HRH as he saw British dominance in India as "the product of 200 years of war, work, and wisdom." Two hundred years of war, be it noted, not peace . . .

Nine years later the Prince had the experience of seeing Gandhi, clad in his *dhoti*, at Buckingham Palace for the Round Table Conference. This "bald, wizened figure" shook hands with the King, causing the Prince to reflect that only a few years ago the Viceroy had "thrown this man into jail for sedition."

Indian Princes with whom the Prince of Wales had played polo on his visit were present and one of them murmured, seeing the "extraordinary figure" advancing towards the King, "This will cost you India."

And this Prince, destined to become King, has no more to say about the greatest moral force the world has known since Jesus.

This ex-king, who on his own admission was the despair of his tutor, who regarded him, scholastically speaking, as "dumb," and who admits that he had "neither the mind nor the will for books," came and went in India without ever having more to do with an Indian than a formal conversation with a Hindu or Moslem politician, seeing the Indian masses only as "crowds of natives cordoned off by troops and the police, and toiling figures in endless fields seen from the window of my train."

The thing he remembered about India more than anything else was the smell "of heavily scented flowers and trees, of sun-baked earth, spices, burning dung, the smell of Indian cooking, of domestic animals 'and humanity in the mass.'"

It seems that he was aware, as he assures us were the officers of the Indian Army and Civil Service, of "the contrast between the excessive wealth of the ruling Princes and the abysmal poverty of the masses," nevertheless he regarded the British system in India as "a vast achievement," and talks the usual imperialist clap-trap of stewardship and trusteeship, considering it remarkable not that the British "failed to eradicate India's countless problems, but that they were able to do so much."

Does HRH know yet, I wonder, that after 200 years the British "quit India" leaving a population in which seven out of ten were illiterate?

This chapter of "A King's Story," *The Brightest Jewel*, is a quite remarkable insight into the sheltered life of the royal person; of the blood and sweat and tears of the toiling millions whose labours create the economic structure of the Throne, in the words of Saroyan—of whom HRH will hardly have heard—"they know nothing; they do not know anything."

How little they know their memoirs alone reveal.

\* "A King's Story" (Cassells, 25s.).

(Concluded.)



## Only a pacifist would have chosen this subject

THOUGH Benjamin Britten's new opera, which had its first performance on Saturday, Dec. 1, at Covent Garden, is in no way a bearer of the pacifist message, and Billy Budd himself is not a pacifist either in his person or in his significance in the story, it is pretty certain that only a pacifist would have chosen this particular subject—or at least have treated it in this particular way.

For, truth to tell, the opera loses something in dramatic vigour by the prologue with which it opens and the epilogue with which it ends. If both had been left out, the story would have stood out more starkly, and the spectator's horror at the concatenation of wickedness and obedience to naval law to which Billy Budd falls victim would not have been diminished by Captain Vere's final monologue. But if Britten and his librettists had followed this course for the sake of greater dramatic intensity, Vere's motives could have been made plain only by interrupting the action with a long introspective soliloquy—unless he was to be left to the spectator's misconceived condemnation as a double-faced weakling or tyrant.

As it stands, the work carries a message of the final triumph of good over evil, despite Billy Budd's tragic fate.

Benjamin Britten's music has always been eloquent in evoking atmosphere. It is so throughout this new work, with notable sensitivity to psychological changes and contrasts. As haunting the memory even after a single hearing may be cited the orchestral ending to an empty stage of the third act, and Billy Budd's song in the last act as he lies, handcuffed, awaiting execution.

Theodor Uppman was an ideal choice for the part of Billy Budd—a role with very specialised and highly exacting physical requirements. The whole cast was good, and the important chorus work excellent. The composer himself conducted, and there was a tumultuous ovation at the end.

R.S.

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# PACIFISTS AND POLITICS

## West of England Conference

From a Correspondent

PACIFISM and Politics was the title of a successful Area Conference organised recently by the Devon and Cornwall Peace Pledge Union at St. Ives.

A wide field of enquiry was taken because political decisions must take cognisance of conditions and responsibilities at home and abroad, personal and communal, in principle and in practice.

In its first session the conference recognised that the material advantages of Western civilisation were largely achieved at the expense of Asia and Africa. The question was asked "How far are the advantages of a mechanical age illusory?" and we attempted to see international justice in terms of a minimum living standard which all nations must be assisted to reach before we "advanced" nations are free to indulge in civilised luxuries.

The attempt to define such luxuries and set a minimum standard made it clear that the conference had no strong sense of the need to sacrifice (except in armaments), but hoped that from our plenty we could make available the capital equipment needed to improve the lot of the undernourished without changing our own standards. Tribute was paid to the ethical values of craftsmanship.

### Personal and national contribution

Attention was drawn to the need of a World Government by consent before the position of World Ruler is arrogated by one of the great Powers. We hoped that such free World Government would play a part in more fairly allocating world resources. It was urged that a basis for World Peace would more likely be found if the powers could be persuaded to concentrate their negotiations on those matters where agreement is most likely. Russia's dependability in trade agreements was instanced.

The best contribution Great Britain could make at the present time was to give the

lead to a "Third Force" of neutral states, who might act as a buffer between USA and USSR, thus preventing an outbreak of war while sanity is given a chance to re-assert itself.

On a personal level we should all proudly proclaim war resistance, and give no apology for the unfulfilled "duty" of militarism. War is the greatest crime. We need pay no alternative service for refusing to commit this sin. Our movement has a responsibility to find and perfect an alternative to the war method: civil, non-violent resistance. The soldier might have to give his life—should not war resisters find that pacifism fundamentally alters the whole of their lives. The power of the soul is the only power greater than the atom.

The conference was chaired by Miss L. M. Larking of St. Ives and well led by Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, who opened each session.

The smoothness of conference arrangements were due to the good work of our National Council Member, Frank Vibert, and to Anthony Hawkey of Wadebridge.

## Lost parents and sister in raids

"I WILL not do unto others what the last war did to me," Derek Arthur Barnes, of Brighton, told the London Conscientious Objectors Tribunal last week.

He lost his mother, father and sister in air raids on London, and said that whenever he saw a uniform he remembered that night. He was told, however, that though the Tribunal sympathised with what he had been through, he had not established a conscientious objection, and must get a more detached view of war.

Peter Ayres, a Spiritualist medium, said, "When I am demonstrating the truth of survival, the people on the other side that I contact—soldiers and airmen—come back and tell me that it is wrong to fight. My own conscience, too, tells me that it is wrong. All men are brothers, and everyone has the power of God within them." He was granted conditional exemption.

### Apprenticed to Vickers

Cyril Fish, who had just completed his apprenticeship with Vickers Armstrong, said, "My objection to war lies in a deep abhorrence of all forms of violence. I have always thought that the maiming and killing of humans serves no useful purpose."

Sir Gerald Hargreaves asked why, with these views, he had remained in the employment of Vickers Armstrong. He replied that he had felt misgivings, but would have had difficulty in breaking his apprenticeship.

His name was removed from the register. Three members of the Brethren, Roy Bliss, Donald Burling and John Davies, were given non-combatant service in the Army, which they said they were willing to do. A fourth, Donald Butler, whose father had also been a CO, established his objection to all forms of military service and received conditional exemption. Other successful applicants included a Congregationalist, two Quakers, and a member of the Church of England.

## Up and Doing

### CHRISTMAS NUMBER NEXT WEEK

EACH Christmas, large numbers of extra Peace News are circulated. We hope as many readers as possible will take a special supply this year. Enclose them with Christmas cards and gifts; post to local ministers, church folk and political groups help to remind everyone that the annual profession of "peace and goodwill" urgently needs translation into practical peace-making and disinterested service at every level of life.

Copies for free distribution are supplied for 1s. 10d. post free (wrappers 2d. dozen extra). For 3s. 6d. a dozen, post paid, you can have Peace News and the whimsical "Father Christmas Selling Peace News" Christmas Card. Large enclosure envelopes are 6d. a dozen extra. Please order promptly.

A CHRISTMAS GIFT SUBSCRIPTION to Peace News will help your friends to understand the real issues in the tangled skein of world affairs. With the Christmas Number we enclose a greetings card bearing your personal message and provide three month's supply at the special trial rate of 3s. 6d. Please send your lists and messages to our Subscription Dept. as soon as possible. H.F.M.

Circulation last week 12,800 copies

## N. London raises £30

PEACE NEWS readers, their families and friends from all parts of London mingled with local folk at North London PPU's Christmas Bazaar last Saturday in the Tottenham Friends' Meeting House.

In ten years this annual event has raised some £250 for Peace News and the PPU. Nearly £30 has been received to date this year. The Bazaar was opened in the afternoon by PPU Chairman, Sybil Morrison, who complemented the stall-holders on the splendid show they had made. After tea a lively Christmas party included games, country dancing, conjuring and music, and a much appreciated address by Bernard Boothroyd, Associate Editor of Peace News.

In recognition of ten years' unflinching resourcefulness and skill in providing the refreshments bouquets were presented to Doris Melville and Phyllis Gates of Wood Green PPU.

Groups co-operating included Edmonton, Hackney, Highgate, Hornsey, Wood Green, and Central London and the North London Peace Centre. The Organisers ask PN to convey their thanks to all who contributed gifts and to the many helpers.

### —and Surrey too

The Surrey Area Committee of the Peace Pledge Union gratefully acknowledge postal donations in connection with their anniversary gathering. As a result £20 was sent to PPU Headquarters and £10 to Peace News.

Booking of Cambridge Guildhall for a meeting to be addressed by Monica Felton was recently cancelled by the Lettings Committee the day before the meeting. The meeting was, however, held at the Labour Hall. A resolution of protest has been passed unanimously by the local Trades Council.

## Notes for your Diary

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.

2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

### Friday, December 7

LONDON, W.C.2: 1.30 p.m. St. Martin-in-the-Fields: Intercession: Service for Peace: The Rev. N. O. Porter, Vicar of St. Barnabas, Little Ilford; APF, FoR, PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens: Members reading of favourite prose, poetry, or epistle: Central London PPU.

ST. ALBANS: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho. Upper Lattimore Rd; Russell Brayshaw, M.I.Mech.E.; "A recent visit to South Africa"; FoR.

STOCKTON-ON-TEES: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho. Dovecote St; FoR re-forming group; FoR.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho; Reginald Reynolds; Friends Peace Committee.

### Saturday, December 8

BIRMINGHAM: 3.30-8.30 p.m. Friends Institute, 249 Warwick Rd; Christmas party for PPU members, children and friends: Games, buffet, tea, conjuring, entertainment: Cards and books for sale: Please bring gift for stall if possible: PPU.

CAMBERWELL: 6.30 p.m. Emmanuel Ch. Hall, Camberwell Rd; Social gathering: PPU.

GLASGOW, C.1: 3 p.m. Community Ho. 214 Clyde St; Brains Trust; FoR.

HODDESDON: 4.30-10 p.m. Congregational Hall; Group social: Hoddesdon and District Pacifist Group.

HUDDERSFIELD: 8 p.m. 4 Richmond Ave. Fartown; Bring and Buy sale, followed by mtg addressed by Leslie Pope at 6 p.m.; PPU.

### Sunday, December 9

CARSHALTON BEECHES: 8 p.m. 17 Hill Rd; "Edward Carpenter"; Frank Dawtry; Surrey Area PPU.

### Tuesday, December 11

HASTINGS: 7 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho; Stuart Morris; PPU.

### Wednesday, December 12

CHESTER: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho, Frudsham St; "The Challenge of Communism"; K. G. Robinson; FoR.

HIGH WYCOMBE: 7.30 p.m. The Guildhall; "The Only Way to Peace"; The Rev. George Maland; Chair: Dr. Jameson; PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7 p.m. Dick Sheppard Ho. 6 Endsleigh St; Mtg of Non-violence Commission; PPU.

### Thursday, December 13

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open-air Mtg; Robert Horniman; PPU.

### Saturday, December 15

GLoucester: 3.30 p.m. Unitarian Ch. Room (opposite Co-op building), Barton St; "The Fundamentals of Peace"; J. Allen Skinner (Editor of Peace News); Tea to follow; with a "Bring a book, Buy a book sale" in aid of group funds; PPU, FoR.

### Monday, December 18

GREENWICH: 8 p.m. Greenwich Methodist Guild, Central Hall, South St, S.E.10; "What Christians are doing for Peace"; Rev. Clifford Macquire; FoR.

### Wednesday, December 19

BRISTOL: 20 Glenwood Rd, Henleaze; Christmas mtg and "bring and buy"; Central PPU.

### Thursday, December 20

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho, Bush Rd; Annual General Mtg; PPU.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

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### MISCELLANEOUS

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# THE PATH FROM ROME

## Mr. Eden and European rearmament

THESE are the days when Ministers move about the world quickly and there was some surprise in the House on Monday after questions when Mr. Anthony Eden appeared at the Dispatch Box to make a statement when most of us thought he was still in Rome.

He wished to make a statement about the meeting of the North Atlantic Council—but only on its political aspects; the Prime Minister would deal with the defence aspects later in the week.

So we now have the problem of rearmament divided into two compartments: political and defence; the first problem having followed the other, for the idea of rearming Western Europe in preparation for peace with Russia has turned out to be not quite so simple as when General Eisenhower invaded Europe for the second time.

### Difficult or impossible

As Mr. Eden put it:

"Perhaps the most difficult problem which now faces the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation is to reconcile the defence requirements of the North Atlantic area with the political and economic capabilities of the countries concerned."

"The rearmament programme must be so devised as not to imperil our standard of life or democratic freedom."

At this point Hansard reports that the member for South Ayrshire interrupted, "Impossible."

Mr. Eden continued: "The Hon. Member is entitled to his view, so are 22 nations to theirs."

### Nations or governments

If there are 22 nations opposed to me then I seem to be in an insignificant minority.

But is it quite as simple as this, Mr. Eden?

If the Foreign Secretary had said 22 governments I might agree. But I very much doubt whether in this matter the governments represented at the NATO conference at Rome were really expressing the feeling of the people.

For the attitude of the people of Western Europe to rearmament is either indifference or passive hostility.

That is quite clear if we look closer at the proceedings of NATO. While all the governments profess their determination to undertake their burden of rearmament they all seem to be concerned to shift it to someone else. That applies to France, Italy, Western Germany, Holland and Denmark, and certainly ourselves.

### Sharing the burden

We have all accepted in theory the rearmament programme which has been

## ● Russians and Burns

(Continued from page one)

which had suffered so much in the war and which he was glad to know was being rapidly built up again. He asked the Deputy Mayors to convey to the people of Stalingrad their best wishes and the hopes that Stalingrad would never again know the desolation and horrors of war. He had visited Stalingrad in the years before the war and had vivid memories of the kindness he had received.

They were meeting on the banks of the little river Doon which Burns had immortalised. It was a long way from the Doon to the Volga but they belonged to a common humanity which had produced the genius of Burns and the genius of Tolstoy.

The great task before them was to work together to prevent another war, so that the peoples on both sides of the Iron Curtain could live in peace.

Mme. Murashkina briefly replied in Russian, thanking Mr. Hughes for the people of Stalingrad.

### Popular in Russia

Professor Kemenov spoke of the popularity of Burns in Russia and said that they would always treasure the memory of their visit to the birthplace of the immortal poet who was the great peasant poet of the world.

He then read in Russian two Burns poems, "John Anderson, my Jo" and "A man's a man for a' that."

The party placed two large armfuls of flowers in the little room where Burns was born, listened to recitations in broad Scots of Burns poems rendered by the Curator, Mr. Thomas McMynn, and wrote their names in Russian characters in the visitors' book.

## ● QUAKER DELEGATION

(Continued from page one)

hand Marxism was a compulsory subject for all young people.

In their discussions with religious and political leaders, said Prof. Lonsdale, they had to meet exactly the same arguments as were used by their British counterparts. It was tragic that fear should be the motivating force on both sides.

The meeting, which was organised by the Society of Friends, was presided over by Kenneth Kendall.

forced upon us by America but in practice we are discovering every day that it is imposing heavy burdens upon us, creating difficult economic problems, lowering our standard of life, and leading us right in to a financial crisis. That is the plain truth. That is why the Rome Conference was called.

And nobody knows this better than Mr. Anthony Eden.

Every responsible economist and politician in Europe now realises that the grandiose rearmament programme is leading to economic crisis in every country in Europe and this is apparent before it has really got under way.

If standards of life are not going to be driven down to an intolerable level the rearmament programme for Europe will have to be cut or a much greater part of it than was anticipated undertaken by America. And there is a growing opinion in America that they are being asked to undertake too much of Europe's rearmament burden.

### Some defence!

Later on I put this question to Mr. Eden:

Did the Foreign Secretary impress upon the Conference that the gigantic burden of armaments throughout Western Europe is now lowering the standard of life of every country in Europe with the result that there is a growing tendency in these countries to become Communist?

"Further, has he impressed upon the Conference that what we want is a constructive programme for Europe and not for more armaments?"

Mr. Eden replied:

"I did not think it was necessary for me to use any words to explain to the nations assembled the problem that rearmament is for them. I think they were also conscious of the need for some defence in view of the present international situation."

But what did Mr. Eden mean by "some defence"? Was it the huge rearmament programme that was contemplated early this year?

Or it is not time to say that this £4,700m. arms programme for Britain and its counterpart in the other countries of Western Europe is now in the process of being whittled down because its economic and political consequences were not realised?

### On from Santiniketan

IN his review of my book "Search After Sunrise," Horace Alexander suggests that for me the World Pacifist Meeting was a "poor second-best" compared with All-India Women's Conferences; that I found "very few" of my fellow-delegates congenial; did not enjoy "having to travel round India with other delegates"; ignored almost everybody but Anglo-Saxon Europeans; and made no "rich friendships."

Any author defending a book is always in an invidious position—"qui s'excuse s'accuse"—and I can only humbly insist that these unproven assumptions have no foundation in fact. I could have attended All-India Women's Conferences any year after the war ended, but it was for the World Pacifist Meeting that I made the real effort required.

Your reviewer seems to have skipped the many appreciative pen-portraits of outstanding Asian delegates such as Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Acharya Kripalani, Amiya Chakravarty (to whom the book is dedicated), Dr. Tomiko Kora of Japan and the Beauson Tseng of China. And how does he know anything of the friendships I did or did not make without one glance at my correspondence files, which since February 1950 have contained many affectionate letters from Manilal Gandhi, Sophia Wadia (editor of The Aryan Path), Kshitij Roy (editor of The Santiniketan Visva-Bharati Quarterly) and the Varma of Calcutta amongst other Indians, and a regular and entertaining correspondence with my delightful fellow-traveller, A. C. Barrington of New Zealand?

I fear that Horace Alexander must have been over-impressed by some quite impersonal criticisms that I made of the Conference (mainly that the agenda was overloaded and insufficient attention paid to the work of Tagore), for he has reviewed only four chapters out of 19. Nobody reading his survey would guess that the chief purpose of my book was not to describe the World Pacifist Meeting, fascinating as that was, but to try to assess and compare the influence of Tagore, C. F. Andrews, Gandhi and Nehru on both India and the West; and to show how the deepening shadow of the Indo-Pakistan dispute crept over those weeks of travel and sent "Barry" and myself to Pakistan to find whether any road to reconciliation existed for individuals.

I apologise for using your space, but I do feel that Horace Alexander had misunderstood my response to one of the most rewarding experiences that I have ever had.

2 Cheyne Walk, VERA BRITAIN  
Chelsea, S.W.3.

### The World Peace Council

AS a member of the World Peace Council I suggest you would better serve the cause we all have at heart by a first hand article of observation and criticism from one of the many British guests and observers present than by the re-editing of an article written by a Frenchman for a Russian paper.

# General Eisenhower and St. Luke

General Eisenhower, addressing the North Atlantic Council and its Military Committee quoted from St. Luke: "A strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace." He said: "From time immemorial it has been recognised that a certain strength is necessary if we are to preserve ourselves."

—Daily Telegraph, Nov. 27, 1951  
When a strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace. But when a stronger than he shall come upon him, he taketh from him all his armour wherein he trusted, and divideth his spoils.

—St. Luke XI, 21-22  
But if I with the finger of God cast out devils, no doubt the kingdom of God is come upon you.

—St. Luke XI, 20

IT is often said that the Devil himself can quote scripture to suit his own ends, but even the Devil would be expected to avoid the chapter which expounds that it is useless to put faith in evil as a means of casting out evil!

It is possible that General Eisenhower, like many others who use this particular quotation with an air of making an irrefutable scoring point, has not read the whole context and is, in fact, innocent of dishonesty or sacrilege.

The accusation made against Jesus and described in St. Luke XI, was that in curing people of their ailments He used means derived from the devil, who was believed to be responsible for the afflictions which assailed the bodies and the minds of human beings. There were those who declared that Jesus delivered people of their sickness through "Beezleubub, the chief of the devils," believing that by no other means could the cures be possible.

Jesus pointed out that on the contrary, a devil against a devil could only make matters infinitely worse, and not better; that, in fact, there was no possible means of ridding the world of evil by the use of evil means, but only by good.

The verse following upon the one quoted by Eisenhower shows up, not the efficiency of armour, but its futility; not the certainty of peace for the goods defended by it, but the uncertainty. If ever there was a sound argument against a race in armaments it is to be found in this very chapter.

Eisenhower takes no account, apparently,

of the fact that other nations besides those linked in the NATO may also believe along with him, that "a certain strength is necessary," in which case they too will follow his interpretation of the words and go forward in the belief that strength of arms will keep their "goods in peace," failing to see the warning in the subsequent lines.

Even if that lesson were not there in St. Luke for all to read, history has taught its truth. Armaments have never kept the peace; they may have won wars, but they have failed to win peace.

There are many who will say that to win, if a war comes, is what matters, but that is to refuse to face the real issues. If each side is mainly concerned with preparations for winning a possible war, the rights and wrongs and the possible grounds for negotiation are lost in the clash and clamour and din of the war machines.

Negotiations backed by the sanction of war lack all the elements which could make negotiations for peace effective; to agree even to disagree requires a mutual trust between those seeking agreement, but great armies, secret weapons and atom bomb bases breed suspicion and distrust, while belligerent speeches supported by these immense armaments, may turn distrust into conflict at any moment.

Those who put their trust in force may find themselves defeated by force; this is what Jesus said according to St. Luke, and it is plain commonsense.

When the sanction of war has been removed from the Councils of the world there will be no doubt that the devil has lost the fight and that peace has won the day.

## LETTERS

The World Peace Council is emphatically not any "overseas aspect of armament policy": if it reflects Soviet foreign policy (and I would remind you that there were only nine Russians and 17 Eastern European out of a total of 109 members present) and if soviet foreign policy is dictated by the need of reconstruction at home and peace by negotiation abroad then surely those who also desire these ends for various reasons will ignore and distort at their peril the determination of so great a mass of humanity to influence the conduct of international affairs through the World Peace Council—the organ of the common man.

Having seen the reception given to one pacifist's masterly contribution to the conference and the patient hearing of many religious viewpoints during an extra evening session voted for this very purpose, I await with interest the suggested article. When groups so far removed as the old resistance fighter and the pacifist can come to terms on a common programme for a common aim then surely one step has been taken towards the solution of international rivalries—it is the opportunity for this discussion and agreed action which makes one believe in the contribution the World Peace Council has to make to our common hope and aim.

2 Mavins Road, NORA JOHNS  
Farnham, Surrey.

An account of the Vienna meeting of the World Peace Council by the Rev. Clifford Macquie will appear in an early issue.—Ed.

YOUR Special Correspondent, in his article "The World Peace Council and Pacifists," says "neither the World Peace Council nor the British Peace Committee have pressed for the legal provision for conscientious objection to war, which obtains in this country, to be extended to the rest of the world, including Russia; there would not appear to be the slightest chance of acceptance of the proposal as a contribution to a peace spirit."

If I remember rightly, members of the Quaker mission reported on their return from Russia that conscientious objection is legally provided for. The objector merely has to declare on an official form that he has a conscientious objection and this is accepted without any of the ensuing procedure that COs in Britain undergo. This information was obtained from more than

one source independent of each other. It is, however, fair to add that conscientious objection in Russia is extremely rare.

44 Millbank, EDEN PEACOCK  
Westminster, S.W.1.

As we understand the position there is no legal recognition of conscientious objection to military service in the USSR today. Formerly there was recognition for members of a number of specified religious groups. The tests applied in these cases were, however, so rigorous (as to parentage and ancestry) that the provisions fell into abeyance and were cancelled.—Ed.

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